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I.—*Restoration and Translation of the Inscription on the Bhitári Lát, with critical and historical remarks. By the Rev. W. H. MILL, D. D., Principal of Bishop's College, Vice-President, &c. &c.*

The discovery in the *Ghazipur* district, of a pillar with an inscription bearing the same royal names and genealogy as No. 2 on that of *Allahabad*, and continuing the series downward by three or four generations from SAMUDRA-GUPTA, the principal subject of panegyric in both, might be expected to furnish valuable supplementary information on points which that monument left in obscurity. What was the seat and extent of the empire of this GUPTA dynasty, and what was the precise place which the acts and events there described bore in the general history of Northern India in the ages that followed the great eras of VICRAMÁDITYA and SÁLIVÁHANA,—are points on which we might hope to gain more light by a document of this length, than from any others which the progress of antiquarian discovery has yet produced.

The actual information obtained from this inscription, though not altogether destitute of new and interesting particulars relating to the state of India at the time of these kings, as I hope to shew in the few historical remarks subjoined to the reading and translation, is yet far from affording the desired satisfaction on the principal points just mentioned. Except the bare point of succession, and some adventures rather alluded to than related in verses of a somewhat obscure style of composition, the information of a directly historical nature extends little beyond what is obtained from the numismatic researches so ably and indefatigably conducted by our Secretary. Whether a more complete

transcript would much increase our information from this source, may also be doubted. Lieutenant CUNNINGHAM, to whose zeal and activity the inquirers into Indian antiquities are so deeply indebted, states that he made the transcript of this Bhitári inscription under very serious disadvantages : but I am not disposed to attribute to any imperfections arising from this cause, the whole or even the greater part of the errors discoverable in the inscription as now exhibited. Some are certainly chargeable on the sculptor who formed the letters on the pillar, unfaithfully representing the remembered or written archetype before him : and these errors are of sufficient magnitude to induce the probable belief, that others occasioning more perplexity in the deciphering, may have arisen from the same source. From whatever source, however, they proceed, they are capable of being completely detected and amended in all the earlier part of the inscription : viz. the introduction, and the laudatory verses that follow ; but when the verse suddenly ceases or changes, and that in the midst of the stanza, as it does about the middle of the 14th line on the pillar,—it is impossible to say how far errors of the same kind with those before found and corrected, (such as this sudden cessation itself seems to indicate) may have produced the general unintelligibility of the document until we come to its last line, the 19th. With the exception of those four lines and a half, the rest, notwithstanding the indistinctness of many of the letters (indicated by the frequent double readings and occasional lacunæ in Lieutenant CUNNINGHAM'S pencil copy), and the more serious difficulty arising from the positive errors above mentioned, may be interpreted with sufficient confidence.

That I may not, however, seem to be gratuitously imputing error to an unknown artist more than twelve centuries dead, with a view to screen the want of skill or accuracy in his living transcribers and interpreters,—I am bound to make good the charge in question in detail, and in a manner that may bring conviction to the mind of every competent scholar. The substitution of श् for स in the word यत्तावसन्तेः (*cohibitis-affectibus-viri*) in the 6th line, is certainly the mistake of the graver, not of his copyist : as is also the equally evident substitution in the following line of the trisyllable पृथिवी *prithivī* for its synonyme पृथ्वी *prithvī* (*the earth*) ; where the latter word of two long syllables is indispensably required by the measure of the verse, indicated as it is by all the preceding and subsequent words in a manner not to be mistaken. These words in their written forms in the ancient character, are too unlike what are severally substituted for them to make this the possible error of a European copyist unacquainted with Sanscrit,—while they are pre-

cisely such mistakes as a Hindu superficially acquainted with that language might most easily commit, if uninspected, in a work like this : the former arising from an ignorant confusion of two words of similar sound, but wholly different etymology as well as meaning,—the latter from total inattention to the rules of metrical harmony. Now the existence of two such glaring errors of the sculptor, uncorrected, renders it highly probable that we should impute to him a large proportion, if not the whole, of the seven following equally manifest errors, (which might in their own nature, the first especially, be as easily committed by the European tracer of a facsimile.)

1. We have in line 8, at the close of the first metrical stanza, one न instead of two in the words ननर्त्त *nanartta* required to close the verse in the *Mánini* measure

o o o o o — — — o — —

with no room whatever in the facsimile for the missing letter.

2. We have in the beginning of line 10, the syllables द्विव with not the least space between them—though it is absolutely certain that a न ought to be there, no other syllable making a word with the syllables प्रणिवि preceding, viz. the word *pranivita* from the close of the 9th line.

3. Again in line 10, we have in the facsimile ददे where the measure cannot possibly admit more than the latter of these two syllables, viz. the long दे in प्रदेया.

4. We have in line 12, the syllables शुदिशिदिशि without the least interval in the facsimile between the first and second of them,—though the first is the penultimate of a connected and well defined stanza, and the four following are as evidently the beginning of another : the verse thus requiring, as does the sense independently of the verse, the syllable द्वं to close the former stanza with the word *suddham*.

5. We have in line 13, the syllables यः जि in close juxtaposition, not only contrary to the rules of *sandhi*, which in verse are carefully observed, but the former appearing from the preceding syllables to be the penultimate of a *Mánini* line, while the latter appears equally from the following ones to be the *third* syllable of the next : so that there are absolutely required three syllables for which there is no space whatever in the facsimile ; viz. either प्रायिपु which I have supplied, or something equivalent, to close one line of the stanza and begin the next.

6. There is no adequate space for the seven syllables required to be supplied at the beginning of the 14th line on the pillar to com-

mence the second line of the stanza there, though the continuance of the same measure is so clearly marked by what precedes and what immediately follows : and

7. What is still more strange, that measure closes with the second line of the stanza ; what follows being as irreducible to metre as to good sense.

With these nine specimens of most evident error in as many lines of the inscription, the two last errors implying the skipping of several syllables at once,—and closed with the fact that there is no integral number of *Mánini* stanzas of four lines, but $5\frac{1}{2}$ only from their commencement in the 7th line of the pillar,—the grounds of conjectural emendation were too slight for its probable application, when the guide of metre was wanting. Accordingly from the 14th to the last line of the pillar, which supplied a stanza in the ordinary *Anustubh* measure, (a space constituting about one quarter of the inscription,) I have been content to groupe together those syllables which formed connected meanings, leaving the rest in which no such connexion appeared, uncopied : and abandoning, with respect to them, a task so much resembling that which the Chaldean king imposed on his magicians,—that of supplying the dream as well as the interpretation.

After this explanation, I proceed to exhibit the text, together with an English version of those three quarters of the inscription which are sufficiently intelligible, beginning with the seven lines of prose, that declare the genealogy and the succession.

Line of
the Lát.

1. * परोर्विराजोद्धत्तुः पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य चतुरुदधिसलि
2. [ल] स्वदितयागसिद्धि चंद्रवरणेन्द्रान्तक [सेवा] * कृतद्रुम
राशः द्युयशसो २ नेकशो हिरण्यतटप्रदस्य दोराकनखमेरुहर्तु
3. म्महाराजश्रीगुप्तप्रपौत्तस्य * महाराजश्रीघटोत्कचपौत्तस्य
महाराजाधिराजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तपुत्तस्य [लिच्छ] विदाहित्रस्य
4. महादेव्यां कुमार[देव्या] * मत्पन्नस्य महाराजाधिराजश्री
समुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्तस्तत्परिगृहीतो महादैव्योत्पन्नदेव्यामु[त्पन्ने]
5. यदाप्रतिरथ * परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्त
स्तस्य पुत्तस्तर्ह्यदानोद्यतो महादैव्यो २ भवदैव्याप्स्वच्छः परम
6. * [भागव]तमहाराजाधिराजश्रीकुमारगुप्तस्य प्रथितमृदु
7. मतेर्यतावसक्तेः पूगयशसः पृथिवीपतेरुत्तमश्री * [परि] गत
वनमरुर्वी

- [रिपु]प्रजितयशाः पृथ्वीविपत्तीः सुतीर्थ
 [दि]शति नु कमलास्यो गुप्ततन्त्रैकवीरः ।
 8. प्रथितविमल*[कीर्त्तिर्ना]मतः स्कन्दगुप्तः
 सदरितचरितात्मा यो ८ भिन्दते[न]नर्त्त ॥
 न विहृतमनदात्मा तान्त्रधीदर्शिकीर्त्ति
 9. रविनम*पलसाता विक्रमेण क्रमेण ।
 प्रतिदिशमभियोगो दीप्यते येन लब्धो
 ८ नभिमतविजितात्मा प्रोद्यते सो ८ परेन्द्रैः ॥
 10. प्रणिद्धि*तव[सुनातः]संविधानप्रदेया
 विचलितकुललक्ष्मीस्तद्वनायोद्यतेन ।
 क्षितितलनयनीया [ते]न नीतास्य सीमा
 11. दुरप*चयमकाशं वाक्यमित्रं गदित्वा ॥
 क्षितिमचरणपीठ ८ स्यार्पितो वामपादः
 प्रसरमनुपमाद्रौ न्यस्तशस्तः प्ररेमे ।
 12. चिरमनुप[म]*सप्ताद्रेर्त्*पञ्चेन्निरुद्धं
 चरितममलकीर्त्तैर्गीयते यस्य शु[द्धं] ॥
 दिशि दिशि परितस्थु[स्तं]कुमारं मनुष्याः
 13. पितरि दिवमुपे[ते]*विप्रता[पा]मलक्ष्मीं ।
 भुजबलविजितारेथं पितृव्यादयः [प्राग्
 रिपु]जितिपरितोषेन्द्रांतरं साखनेत्राः ॥
 हतरिपुरिव कृष्णो देवकीं मन्यमा[न
 14. * इदमतदयया] रुक्मांशुरव्यात्प्रचित्तं ॥
 विप्रकिरूप्यदेहासुमवनिं बिजेतुर्निजारेर्विद्वेषं कृत्वोदीर्यते
 15. ह्यम्भदेवो विस्मितः प्रतिदिन * म - - - - - बद्धवीर्यस्य
 16. सुमार्गदैत्यपराक्रमितुर्म्महावर्त्मकरस्य * शत्रुपशरानन्यस्य
 दुःश्रमिणः राजाद्भुतपरमारिरुद्धिप्रख्यापितो - - - - -
 17. विश्रोत्रेऽपि शार्ङ्गध्वनि * - - - - - हतस्य शार्ङ्गिणः
 18. * सदार्चितस्कन्दरुद्र रत्नाकरार्कनेतुः महेशप्रीतगुप्तः - - - - -
 19. संततं गेवते मूर्त्तिमिमां यञ्चात्र भूपतिः ।
 रुद्रेणार्हाद्यदशे स मतः प्रणयपण्यधोर ॥ इति ॥

Translation.

Of the liberator of the greatest kings, incomparable on the earth,—by whom loads of forest timber are collected for the holocaustic service of INDRA, VARUNA and YAMA by the completion of sacrifices bearing the flavour of the waters of all the four circumambient oceans,—whose glory reaches to the firmament,—who on every side bestows liberally as the

golden-sided mountain (Meru),—by whom Meru himself might be borne aloft in the piercing talons of his mighty arm,—the great grandson of the great king GUPTA,—grandson of the great king GHATOTKACHA,—son of the great king, the sovereign of kings, CHANDRA-GUPTA,—maternal grandson of LIÇCHAVI,—born of the great goddess-like CUMA'RA-DE'ví,—the great king, the sovereign of kings, SAMUDRA-GUPTA,—

Of him, when the accepted son was pronounced to be the son of DE'ví, daughter of MAHA'DAITYA, the incomparable worshipper of the supreme BHAGAVAT (CRISHNA), the great king, the sovereign of kings, CHANDRA-GUPTA,—then his son, before addicted to illiberality, and a man of great parsimony, was purified by the waters of destiny. Such was the excellent blessedness of the worshipper of the supreme BHAGAVAT, the great king, the sovereign of kings, CUMA'RA-GUPTA, celebrated for his mildness of disposition, and of subdued passions united to accumulated fame,—a blessedness pervading even the forests and desert lands.

Verse.

Having well surmounted the calamities that oppressed the earth, the chief and unique hero of the Gupta race, of face like a lotus, displays the glory of conquest: even he, by name SCANDA-GUPTA of distinguished and spotless renown,—who in the spirit of his own dreadful deeds danced in the fierce dance, (SIVA-like after his vengeance for SITA's death.)

Possessed of a clear insight into the profound wisdom of the Tantras, with a spirit of unceasing silence (on their incommunicable mysteries—and in accordance with their precept and discipline) mangling the flesh of the refractory in successive victories;—he by whom their challenge to battle being accepted and answered, forms a splendid spectacle in every quarter of the earth,—is declared even by alien princes to be one whose mind could not be shaken by sudden and unexpected calamity.

For afterwards by him to whom the keeping of his treasure was committed,—the boundary which was given as a sacred deposit, and worthy to be extended to the extremities of the earth—was treacherously taken away, and the prosperity of the family removed from it,—(even by him the minister aforesaid) coveting the wealth of that family, having previously professed much attachment in words, but destitute of the light (of truth), and followed by calamitous defection.

Yet (having conquered) the land, his left foot was fixed there on a throne yet untrodden by mortals, and having obtained excellent room, and laid by his weapons, he reposed from war on his (inaccessible) mountain. His pure and noble exploits, the exploits of a man of unspotted fame, although long opposed by the kings of the excellent seven hills, are now sung even by them.

In every region did men surround that young prince, when his father had gone to heaven, as one who had attained most illustrious prosperity: whom his father's brother and the other chiefs did first (thus surround, hailing him) as their new sovereign, in the midst of the joy of conquest, with tears in their eyes.

May he who is like CRISHNA still obeying his mother DE'VAKÍ, after his foes are vanquished, he of golden rays, with mercy protect this my design.



Whatever prince in this place perpetually worships this sacred image, is considered by RUDRA (SIVA) himself as one whose understanding is ennobled and rendered praise-worthy by this affectionate devotion, even in the land of ARHA (INDRA) and the other celestials.

Remarks on the above Inscription.

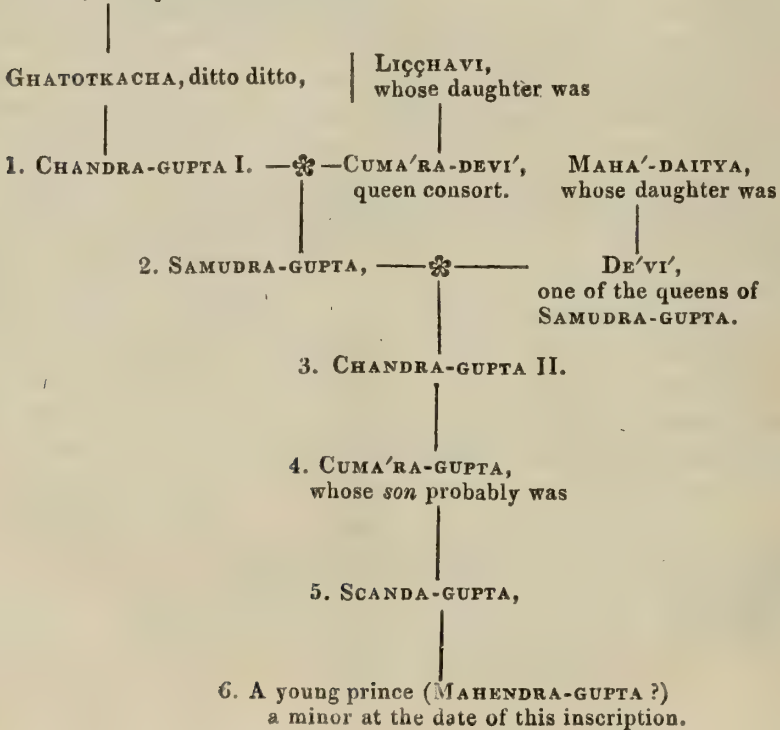
The parentage of SAMUDRA-GUPTA SON OF CHANDRA-GUPTA, which closed the *Allahabad* inscription, forms in nearly the same words the beginning of the present; and his panegyric which pervaded the earlier monument, is the leading subject in the prose part of this. The first new fact is the designation of his son and successor, CHANDRA-GUPTA the second: whom it seemed most obvious on the first reading of the names* to identify with the expected son and heir of the 18th line of the pillar of *Allahabad*, the offspring of SAMUDRA-GUPTA and his principal queen the daughter of the proud princess SANHÁRICÁ. This identification, however, is removed by the terms of the inscription itself: this son does not succeed by right of primogeniture, but as peculiarly selected (*parigrihíta*) on account of his eminent virtues from the rest of the family or families of the polygamist king, and is the offspring not of SANHÁRICÁ's daughter, but of the daughter of a prince named MAHÁDAITYA. The son and successor of CHANDRA-GUPTA II. is CUMÁRA-GUPTA, who is represented as having been a very unprincely character at the time of his father's adoption as heir to the throne; but having been disciplined by some unnamed fortune, becomes on his own accession to the throne, an emulator of the mild virtues and the *Vaishnava* devotion of his parent. The next king is SCANDA-GUPTA, who may be most probably supposed to be the son of his immediate predecessor CUMÁRA-GUPTA: but on this point, the verse which here takes the place of the more narrative prose, is unfortunately silent. We only hear of his distinguished fame as a warrior: and that his piety, congenial with his acts, does not take the same turn with that of his two nearest predecessors, of devotion to VISHNU the Preserver, but attached itself to the opposite system now so prevalent in this part of India, the deep, mysterious and sanguinary system of the Tantras. After the conquest and slaughter of many opposing kings, we hear

* See p. 644 of volume V.

of his eventual triumph over a more formidable enemy than all, a treacherous minister, who for a time succeeds in dispossessing him of his kingdom. After vanquishing, however, the rival monarchs of the seven hills, and resting peacefully on his laurels in his inaccessible mountain throne, (localities which carry us away from the immediate vicinity of the Ganges, but whether towards the north or Central India we have no means of determining,) this worthy worshipper of SIVA and DURGA ascends to heaven: and his brother and the other chiefs, with mingled feelings of grief and affectionate allegiance, proclaim his young child the heir to his father's crown and conquests. This youth is described as obedient to the queen dowager his mother, as was CRISHNA to his mother DE'VAKI'; but the part of the inscription that proceeds to speak of him is confused and unintelligible; neither does he appear to be once named; unless we conceive some letters of line 18 to give his name thus: MAHESA-PRITA-GUPTA, (*the Gupta attached to Siva, or beloved by Siva.*) He is probably the MAHENDRA-GUPTA whose name occurs in several of the newly discovered coins of this dynasty.

The royal family of the Guptas, therefore, as adapted to the time of this inscription, stands as follows; the Arabic numerals denoting sovereigns, or those to whom the prefix *Maharāja Adhirāja* belongs, in the order of their succession.

GUPTA, a Rāja of the Solar line.



One remarkable fact, learnt solely from this inscription, is the prevalence at the time of the Gupta dynasty, of the two opposite sectarian forms of later Hindu worship: that of the exclusive devotees of VISHNU on the one hand, whose favorite authority is the celebrated poem (probably inserted among the Puránas by the comparatively recent grammarian VOPÉDEVYA) called the *Srímád Bhágavata*: and that of the worshippers of SIVA and his female energies on the other, whose text books are those singular compounds of Cabalistic mystery, licentiousness and blood, the Agamas or Tantras.—The princes CHANDRA-GUPTA and CUMA'RA-GUPTA are expressly commemorated as belonging to the former class, and SCANDA-GUPTA as an adherent of the latter. And here I must recall an observation that I hazarded when commenting on the *Allahabad* inscription, (J. A. S. vol. iii. p. 268,) that the worship of the Saktis, with its existing mysteries and orgies, was most probably unknown in India at the date of that monument. The terms in which that species of devotion is spoken of about a century after, in the second* of the metrical stanzas in the present *Bhitárlí* inscription, shews that the same system was even then dominant, and sufficiently powerful and seducing to enlist kings among its votaries. And while this (if I am correct in supposing the age of the Gupta dynasty to be somewhere between the 1st and 9th centuries of our era), may be among the earliest authentic notices of that mode of worshipping BHAIRAVA and CÁLI',—the mention of it at all furnishes an additional proof to my mind of the impossibility† of referring these monuments to the earlier age of CHANDRA-GUPTA MAURYA, or that of ALEXANDER the Great, and the century immediately following.

A far more plausible hypothesis is the identification of this Gupta dynasty, with that which is mentioned in the prophetic-historical part of the Vishnu-Purána, (Book iv. chap. 24,) as arising in this precise tract of country, contemporaneously with other dynasties in different parts of India, during the turbulent period that followed the extinction of the last race of Indian sovereigns that reigned in *Magadha*, and the irruption of Sacæ and other foreign tribes from the north-west. The dominion of the Guptas is there said to include the great city of *Prayága* on the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna, where their principal monument is now found, as well as the yet more sacred city of *Mathurá* on the latter river, and the less known names of *Padmávati* and *Kánti-purí*, (probably near the site of our present *Cawnpore*;) it is also described as extending down the Ganges to

* See Note A.

† See Note B.

Magadha or *Behar*, where one *VISVA-SPHATIKA* (OR *VISVA-SPHURJI*, of the old race of *Magadha* sovereigns) had extirpated the existing race of *Xattriyas*, and set up other low castes, together with *Bráhmans*, in their stead ; as I read in two MSS. copies* of the *Vishnu-Purána*, the words of which are

मागधायां तु विश्वस्फटिकसंज्ञो ऽ न्यान्वर्णान्करिष्यति कैवर्त्तयदु
पलिन्द ब्राह्मणान् राज्ये स्थापयिष्यति । उत्साद्याखिलक्षत्रजातीर्नवना
गाः पद्मावत्यां कान्तिपुर्यां मथुरायामनुगंगा प्रयागं मगधा गुप्ताश्च
मागधान् भोक्ष्यन्ति ।

“ In the country of *Magadha*, one named *VISVA-SPHATIKA* shall form and set up in the kingdom other castes, the *Kaivarttas*, *Yadus*, *Pulindas*, and *Bráhmans* : and thus having abolished all the races of *Xattriyas*, shall the nine *Nagas*, and in *Padmávati*, *Kánti-purí*, *Mathurá*, and on the Ganges from *Prayága*, shall the *Magadhas* and the *Guptas* rule over the people belonging to *Magadha*.”

All these new sets of kings, with the *Naishadhas* in *Calinga*, &c. and the more barbarous races elsewhere, are represented in the *Purána* as ferocious, rapacious and tyrannical men, of little knowledge and no principle, whose rise and progress and fall are to be equally sudden and extraordinary, short-lived, and only nominal observers of religion. The people under their sway, and through the contact of foreign races, will gradually fall into that neglect of caste and other religious observances, that reference of all things to worldly riches and consequent impiety and unrighteousness, that will prepare the way for the tenth and last incarnation of *VISHNU* as *KALKÍ* to restore all things. Thus, soon after the account of their *Guptas*, close the prophetic announcements of *PARÁSARA* to *MAITREYA* of what was to befall the world after him, and with them the 4th Book of the *Vishnu-Purána*.

It is true, that according to the chronology of the *Purána*, as set down minutely in that chapter, we should have the commence-

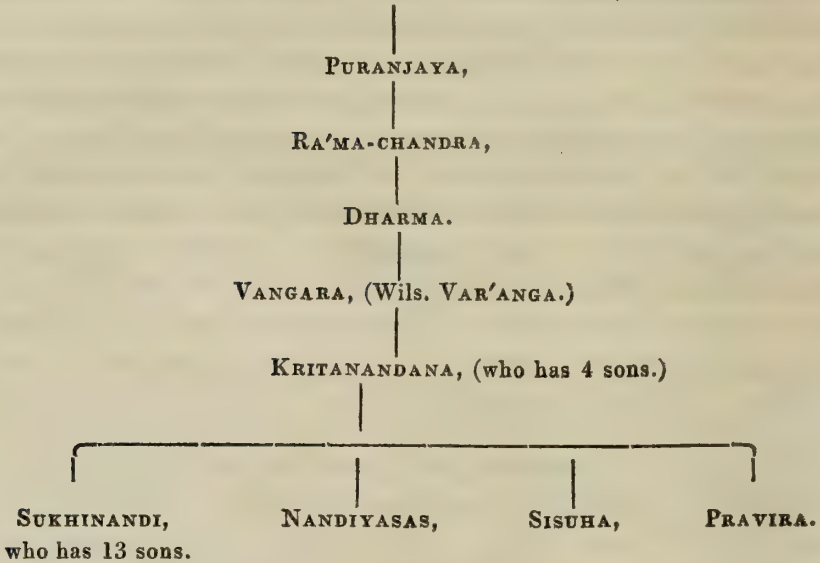
* The valuable English abstract and partial translation of this *Purána* (as of the others) deposited in the Asiatic Society's Library by Professor H. H. WILSON,—is silent on the latter point, the association of the *Guptas* with *Magadhas*, and their dominion in *Behar* : relating their possession of those four cities in the *Doáb*, *Padmávati*, *Kánti-purí*, *Mathurá*, and *Prayága*, as altogether unconnected with the affairs of *Magadha*, and the extirpation of the *Xattriyas* from that country, with which they are distinctly blended in the Sanscrit passage as given above.

For the further testimony of the *Srímád-Bhágavata*, see Note C.

ment of the reign of these Guptas posterior to SANDRACOTTAS, and consequently to ALEXANDER the Great, by $(137 + 112 + 45 + 456 + 1399 + 300 + 186 =)$ 2635 years,—and therefore as really future to us as to the prophetic Muni and his hearer. But setting aside all other considerations, it is only the four first of the seven component periods of this sum that will appear to an attentive inspection of the Purána itself, to be entitled to the least attention : viz. the spaces assigned respectively to the Maurya, the Sanga, the Kanva and Andhra dynasties of Hindu sovereigns in *Magadha* : of which the name of each individual king is set down, their several numbers 10, 10, 4 and 30 agreeing perfectly with the durations assigned to each race*. But the fifth and sixth periods of 1399 and 300 years have no such catalogues of kings accompanying them, but only a statement that in the former there should rule in succession seven kings of the Abbhra caste, 10 Gardabhiras, 16 Saka or Scythian kings, 8 Yavana or Grecian, 14 Tushára, 13 Munda, and 11 Mauna kings : and in the latter period of three centuries, Paura and 11 other unnamed sovereigns. This enumeration, strongly indicative of the disturbed and semi-barbarous condition of affairs, which caused the suspension of all the ancient records,—and in which synchronous dynasties might easily be mis-stated as successive ones, and the sum of years readily palmed on the Hindu reader, to enhance the antiquity of the classical and heroic ages of the country,—is succeeded, in the last period immediately preceding the rise of the Guptas, by something more resembling the records of earlier times. As this list, occupying the seventh period above mentioned of 186 years, has not yet been published,—(that of HAMILTON in the corresponding period being somewhat different and much more confused,) I will here set it down from my MS. of the Vishnu-Purána.

* These may all be seen, as they stand in this and other Puránas, in p. 100 of Mr. J. PRINSEP'S Useful Tables. The accuracy of these lists is strongly confirmed by the collateral testimony of the Chinese travellers in India in the 5th century, whose relation is published in the London Asiatic Journal of July last. Their king of *Kapila*, YUE-GAE, *Beloved of the Moon*, whose ambassador sent presents to China A. D. 423, is (not CHANDRA/NANDA, as the learned translator of that work suspected, but) CHANDRA-SRI', the king immediately preceding PULOMARCHIS, the last of the Andhra dynasty at *Magadha*,—who was reigning at this precise time. This removes the hope entertained by Mr. J. PRINSEP, (to whom I am indebted for the communication of this paper) and myself, that this might prove to be the CHANDRA-GUPTA of the inscription, and makes the latter posterior to him by probably three or four centuries.

VINDHYA-SACTI from Kilakila, who adopts the manners of
the Yavanas, whose son is



After whom came 4 Bahukas or Bactrians, 3 Puspamitras, 13 Yadu-
mitras, 7 Mekalas; and in *Kausala* or *Oude*, 9 Naishadhas.

Thus the account of this dynasty, which HAMILTON calls the Bah-
lic or Bactrian one, terminates in a confusion worse confounded than
that from which it emerged. And this statement in the Vishnu-
Purána is immediately followed by the passage above quoted respect-
ing the Magadhas and Guptas.

Allowing, however, the least possible duration to the confused
periods that followed the subversion of the Andhra dynasty in the
middle of the fifth century after Christ, it is scarcely possible to fix
the subjects of our present inquiry, the Guptas, higher than the age
of CHARLEMAGNE in Europe, if we suppose them identical with the
Guptas of the Purána.

NOTE A.

The insertion among the praises of the 5th king SCANDA-GUPTA, of
the epithet "a mangler of the flesh of the refractory," (*avinama-pala-
sátá,*) and that in close juxta-position with the attributes of peculiar
wisdom, and adherence to a mysterious system of Cabalistic theo-
logy,—may appear surprising to persons who have either considered
but slightly the genius and tendencies of idolatry, or are unacquaint-
ed with this peculiar form of it. To shew how perfectly natural is
the juxta-position in the present instance, I cannot give a more
generally intelligible proof than in the picture drawn in the metaphy-
sical drama *Prabodha-chandra-udaya*, of a votary of this same Tantric
discipline, under the name of SA-UMA-SIDDHÁNTA,—i. e. says the

commentator, a professor of the science of SIVA BHAIRAVA in conjunction with UMA his consort.—I will give the original Sanscrit and Pracrit (the latter spoken by the Buddhist, being his own Páli,—the former by the other two speakers) with a different version from that of Dr. TAYLOR, distinguishing prose and verse exactly as in the original: premising, that the ingenious author does not intend to give any exaggeration or caricature, but simply to exhibit a model of an existing mode of belief and practice in his time: such as may be traced also, under certain modifications even now; after centuries of Mahomedan and Christian rule have interfered with the free exercise of such homicidal worship.

ततः प्रविशति सोमसिद्धान्तः कापालिकरूपधारी खड्गहस्तः

[परिक्रम्य] नरास्थिमालाकृतचारुभूषणः

श्रमशानवासी नृकपालभाजनः ।

पश्यामि योगाङ्गनशुद्धदर्शनी

जगन्निधोभिन्नमभिन्नमीश्वरात् ॥

क्षपणकः । एसो काबालिअवदं पुलिसो धारेदि ताणं पुच्छिस्सं

[उपसृत्य] अले कावालिअ गलहड्डुमुण्डमालिअ केलिसे तुअः
सोखमोक्खे ।

कापालिकः । अरे क्षपणक घम्मं तावदस्साकमवधारय ।

मस्तिस्कात्तवसाभिघारितमहामांसाज्जतीर्जुङ्गतां

वज्झै ब्रह्मकपालकल्पितसुरापानेन नः पारणा ।

सद्यः दत्तकठोरकण्ठविगलत्कीलालधारेत्स्वने

रर्थो नः पुरुषोपहारबलिभिर्देवो महान् भैरवः ॥

भिक्षुः । [कर्णेण पिधाय] बुद्ध बुद्ध अहो दारणा ब्रह्मचर्या ।

क्षप । अलिअन्त अलिअन्त अहो घोरपावकालिना केनावि विप्पलब्धा
एसो बलाओ ।

कापा । [सक्रोधं] आः पाप पाषण्डापसद मुण्डितमुण्ड चण्डालवेश केशो

क्षुच्चक अरे विप्रलम्भक स किल चतुर्दशभुवनोत्पत्तिस्थितिप्रलय

प्रवर्त्तयिता वेदान्तसिद्धान्तप्रसिद्धविभवे भगवान् भवानीपतिः ।

दर्शयामस्तर्हि धर्मस्यास्य महिमानं ।

हरिहरसुरज्येष्ठश्रेष्ठान् सुरानहमाङ्गथे

वियति चरतां नक्षत्राणां रणधि गतीरपि ।

सनगनगरीमम्भःपूर्णां विधाय महीमिमां

कलय सकलं भूयस्तोयं क्षणेन पिवामि तत् ॥

क्षप । अल कावालिञ्च अदीञ्चव भणामि केणावि इन्द्रआलिना अलीञ्च
इन्द्रआलं दिग्निञ्च विप्ललब्धो सित्ति ।

कापा । आः प्राप पुनरपि महेश्वर ऐन्द्रजालिक इत्याक्षिपसि तन्न
मर्घणीयं ते दैरात्म्यं । तदहमस्य

एतत्करालकरबालनिकृत्तकराठ

नालोच्छलदङ्गलबुद्बुदफेणिलौघैः ।

दत्त्वा बलिं डमरुडं कृत्तिहृतभृत

वर्गाय भर्गुगृहिणीं रुधिरैर्धिनेमि ॥

[इति खड्गमुद्यच्छति ।]

IN ACT III.

To them, enter SOMA-SIDDHANTA in the guise of a Kápálika (or man of skulls),
with a sword in his hand.

Soma-Sid. (walking about.)

With goodly necklace deck'd of bones of men,
Haunting the tombs, from cups of human skull
Eating and quaffing,—ever I behold
With eyes that Meditation's salve hath clear'd,
The world of diverse jarring elements
Composed, but still all one with the Supreme.

Buddhist. This man professes the rule of a Kápálika. I will ask him what it
is.—(Going up to him.) O, ho! you with the bone and skull necklace, what
are your notions of happiness and salvation?

Soma-Sid. Wretch of a Buddhist! Well; hear what is our religion.

With flesh of men, with brain and fat well smear'd,
We make our grim burnt-offering,—break our fast
From cups of holy Bráhma's skull,—and ever
With gurgling drops of blood that plenteous stream
From hard throats quickly cut, by us is worshipp'd
With human offerings meet, our God, dread BHAIRAVA.

Bráhma Mendicant, (stopping his ears.) Buddhist, Buddhist, what think you
of this? O horrible discipline!

Buddhist. Sacred Arhata! some awful sinner has surely deceived that man.

Soma-Siddhanta (in a rage). Aha!—sinner that thou art,—vilest of heretics,
with thy shaven crown, drest like the lowest outcasts, uncombed one, away
with thee! Is not the blessed husband of BHAVANI the sole cause of the
creation, preservation, and destruction of the fourteen worlds, and his power
established by the fullest demonstration of the Védant? Let us yet shew
even you the magnificence of this religion.

I call at will the best of gods, great HARI,
And HARA's self and BRAHMA,—I restrain
With my sole voice the course of stars that wander
In heaven's bright vault; the earth with all its load
Of mountains, fields and cities, I at will

Reduce once more to water—and behold

I drink it up.

Buddhist. Alas ! poor Kápálíka, this is just what I said. You have been deceived by some juggler, spreading out false images before you.

Soma-Siddhanta. What, again, thou sinner ! Dost thou dare to call the great MAHESVARA a juggler ? This thy malignity must not be forgiven. Lo, therefore,

With foaming floods of gore that gush amain

From throat well severed with this sabre's edge,

I make my sacrifice to him that calls

With beat of drum the hosts of creatures after him,

Dread SIVA—and with these rich ruddy streams

Delight his consort well, BHAVANI.

(*Draws his sword.*)

[How the hand of the Tantric zealot is arrested from smiting the unfortunate Buddhist,—how he then enters on a psychological defence of his opinions,—how he is then joined by SRADDHA' (or Faith !) in the character of a *Kapalini*, who by her blandishments leads both the Bráhman mendicant and the Buddhist, to deport themselves like Tantrists,—and how they all then join SOMA-SIDDHANTA in a *meditative* dance ;—all this and other wonders may be found by the curious in the drama above cited.]

NOTE B.

In once more expressing the opinion, that the Gupta dynasty of our present monuments is posterior to the Christian era, I am by no means insensible to the new light that Mr. TURNOUR has thrown on the history of SANDRACOTTUS in the extracts he has given from a learned commentary on the *Mahá-wanso*, pp. lxxi—lxxxii. of his very interesting preface to that great historical work. That *some* of my objections to the identity of the two CHANDRA-GUPTAS are removed, or at least greatly weakened, I freely admit : there certainly appears ancient Buddhist authority (for such is apparently the *Atta-kathá* or *Astata-kathá* of the Uttara-vihára priests alleged by the commentator) for making the Mauryas a branch of the Solar race ; utterly inadmissible as is the etymology assigned for that name in the *Tiká* (p. lxxvi.) as well as for the name of SISUNÁGA, ancestor of the Nandas, (pp. lxxii. lxxiii.) It is also very remarkable, in relation to this subject, that the latter prince is there represented as the son of a LIÇÇHAVI Rája, that being apparently the name of a distinguished family in *Magadha* : LIÇÇHAVI being also the name, in the inscriptions of *Allahabad* and *Bhitári*, of the father-in-law of our CHANDRA-GUPTA I. and maternal grand-father of SAMUDRA-GUPTA. Nevertheless, there still appear to me insurmountable objections to identifying SAMUDRA-GUPTA with VINDU-SÁRA, the son and successor of CHANDRA-GUPTA MAURYA on the *Magadha* throne. while a still more evident impossibility is now added of identifying his son, the *Vaishnava* CHANDRA-GUPTA II. of our present monument, with ASOCA, son of VINDUSÁRA, the zealous ad-

herent and propagator of Buddhism, not only in his own dominions of *Magadha*, but the north, east, and south, as far as *Ceylon*. It is needless to pursue the discrepancy of the genealogies further: the *Vaishnava* CUMÁRA-GUPTA and the *Saivya* and *Saktya* worshipper, SCANDA-GUPTA, have nothing in common with the Buddhist descendants and successors of DHARMÁSOKA. Is it not also very possible that with a view to exalt the immediate ancestry of that most revered prince, the priests of the favored religion may have introduced this account of the *Moriya* family, as an offspring of the Solar race,—so discrepant from that which other Indian accounts, as well as Greek and Roman, give of its origin? That the Buddhist priests, notwithstanding their hostility to caste, are not insensible to considerations of this kind, is evident from the care with which, in the *Mahá-wanso* and elsewhere, they inculcate the undoubted royal descent of GAUTAMA BUDDHA.

NOTE C.

The passage above quoted from the *Vishnu-Purána* seems to have been somewhat differently read by the more modern author of the *Srímád-Bhágavata*,—who here as elsewhere, is apparently only transferring into his own more polished and elaborate verse, the records found in the older Puránic legends. By him the term Gupta, instead of being a proper name, is made an epithet of the *earth* as ruled or *protected* (for so the scholiast SRIDHARA has explained it) by the VISVA-SPHATIKA above mentioned, who is here called VISVA-SPHURJI. The close agreement, as well as occasional discrepancy, of the two authorities, will be easily seen from the following extract (*Bhágavata*, Book xii. chap. 1.)

मागधानां च भविता विश्वस्फूर्जिः पुरंजयः
 करिष्यत्यपरान् वर्णान् पुलिन्दयदुमद्रकान् ॥ २० ॥
 प्रजाञ्चाब्रह्मभूयिष्ठाः स्थापयिष्यति दुर्मतिः ।
 वीर्यवान् क्षत्रमुत्सार्य पद्मावत्यां स वै पुरि ।
 अनुगंगामाप्रयागं गुप्तां भोक्ष्यति मेदिनीं ॥ २१ ॥

“VISVA-SPHURJI, another PURANJAYA, (i. e. says the scholiast, the best of the descendants of PURANJAYA or RIPUNJAYA, who was king of *Magadha*, B. C. 900.) shall create new barbarian castes, the *Pulindas*, *Yadus* and *Madras*. This ill-minded warrior shall make the greatest part of his subjects to be un-bráhmanical, (or lower than sudras)—and having exterminated the Xattriyas, he shall, in the city of *Padmávatí*, and on the Ganges, as far as *Prayága*, derive tribute from the *protected earth*.”

The words अनुगंगाप्रयागं are explained here by the scholiast to describe the situation of the king's metropolis *Padmávati*, as being situated in the Ganges above *Prayága*, or, as he words it, between *Allahabad* and *Haridvár*. But this explanation is quite inapplicable to the same words as they stand in the Vishnu-Purána, where they immediately follow the mention of *Mathurá*, and where the mention of *Magadha* following induces me to interpret the words "on the Ganges below *Prayága*" or between *Allahabad* and the sea.

II.—*Alphabets of the Tai language.* By the Rev. N. BROWN, Missionary in Assam.

[We are indebted to Capt. F. JENKINS, Political Agent in Assam, for kindly engaging Mr. BROWN to throw light upon the *Ahom* and *Khamtí* alphabets, of which it may be remembered Capt. JENKINS two years ago presented to the Society some manuscript volumes then undecipherable for the want of this indispensable key. The *Ahom* letters are stated to be copied from an old book in the author's possession. The brief notice of the language itself, (Mr. BROWN writes to Capt. J.) was gathered from a pandit of the *Jorháth Rája*, whom he employed as teacher for a few months. He did not seem to possess a very perfect knowledge of the *Ahom* language, and he stated that the same was true of the *Ahoms* in general, who for the most part have lost all knowledge of their original tongue.

Captain JENKINS thinks there can be little doubt that the *Ahom* rajas came into Assam from the eastward about the beginning of the thirteenth century; and that the immediate cause of their emigration is to be sought for in the breaking up of the Chinese empire by the Moguls,—for at the epoch when CHUKAPHA had fixed himself in Assam, KUBLAI KHAN had just established himself in China. We may confidently hope that after a little longer residence at *Sadiyá*, Mr. BROWN, who is rapidly extending his acquaintance with the different branches of the *Shyán* language will be induced to favor us with a sketch of the contents of the old *Ahom* chronicles, which, we are given to understand, certainly exist in Assam, and of which the volume transmitted by Capt. JENKINS may be a portion.

Capt. JENKINS alludes to a curious fact, communicated by Mr. BROWN, which should be a further inducement to examine their books; namely, that no trace of Buddhism is to be found in the religion of the *Ahoms*. This is a remarkable deviation from the circumstances